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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 093685

FOR AMBASSADOR RAWSON FROM FRIEDMAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: AMGT

SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

1. CONFIDENTIAL-ENTIRE TEXT

2. AS I SAID ON THE PHONE, THE REPORTING HAS BEEN  
EXCELLENT IF DEPRESSING.

FRUSTRATION

3. THE FUNK COMES OF COURSE, FROM THE SENSE THAT THOSE  
IN CHARGE OF THINGS IN RWANDA ARE ON A VERY DIFFERENT WAVE  
LENGTH FROM OURSELVES AND THAT THEY HAVE THE WILL AND  
MUSCLE TO FRUSTRATE OUR VISION. WE HAVE AIMED AT

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ACHIEVING RECONCILIATION AND A BROAD BASED GOVERNMENT, CONDITIONS THAT PROMOTE REGIONAL STABILITY' AN END TO THE CYCLE OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE AND A RETURN OF MOST REFUGEES. WITHOUT SUCH RETURN, WE ARE LEFT WITH A VAST POOL OF REFUGEES WHO DRAW ON OUR RESOURCES AND KEEP THE RWANDAN POT BREWING HUMANITARIAN AND REGIONAL CRISIS FOR YEARS.

4. IS UNDILUTED TUTSI HEGEMONY THE ANSWER? I SENSE THAT IT MAY KEEP THINGS PEACEFUL IN THE SHORT RUN, BUT IT WON'T

GET THE MILLIONS OFF THE INTERNATIONAL DOLE, NOR WILL HEGEMONY PROVE SO DURABLE AS TO INSURE THAT THERE WILL NOT BE ATTEMPTS AT OR EVEN SUCCESS AT A HUTU RESTORATION. IN THE MEANTIME THE TUTSI EXTREMISTS COULD BUILD A HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN RWANDA AND WITH THE DONORS THAT COULD RESULT IN A REDUCTION IN ASSISTANCE TO KIGALI. IN A WORSE CASE SCENARIO WE MIGHT WIND UP FEEDING THE REFUGEES AND DENYING SUPPORT TO THE GOVERNMENT.

5. THE RPA'S COURSE CAN BE EXPLAINED IN PART BY THE TUTSI'S CLAIM TO BEING THE VICTIMS OF ATTEMPTED GENOCIDE. BUT THE BID FOR ABSOLUTE HEGEMONY SEEMS TO ME TO GO BEYOND THE VALIDITY OF THAT CLAIM. THE DEMAND THAT THE ARMS EMBARGO BE LIFTED ENTIRELY, THE TENUOUS RELATIONS WITH THE BANK, THE DEMAND IN GENERAL THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI BE GIVEN WHAT IT WANTS ON ITS TERMS SEEM FINALLY TO BE ROOTED IN SOMETHING DEEPER, IN THE TUTSI WORLD VIEW THE PM SEEMED TO BE DESCRIBING WHEN YOU TALKED TO HIM ABOUT THE DETENTION CENTERS.

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6. ONE QUESTION IS WHETHER WE CAN WAVE THE RPA OFF ITS PRESENT COURSE? ONE PURPOSE OF THE TRIP NEXT WEEK IS TO TRY TO FIND OUT AS WE DELIVER A MESSAGE OF "WE WANT TO HELP YOU BUT YOU HAVE TO DO BETTER TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE".

7. AS I MENTIONED IN MY TESTIMONY, THE GOVERNMENT REPRESENTS A HISTORIC SINGULARITY. IT IS THE ONLY INSTANCE IN HISTORY THAT I KNOW OF WHERE THE TARGETS OF

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GENOCIDE WON THE WAR. I THINK WE SHOULD INTEGRATE THIS SINGULARITY IN OUR POLICY. ON THE ONE HAND WE SHOULD TREAT IT GENEROUSLY. VICTIMS DO HAVE SPECIAL RIGHTS. BUT SECONDLY, WE HAVE TO DEMAND THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI LIVE UP TO ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AS A NATION STATE.

### RIGHTS

8. MOST OF WHAT WE HAVE BEEN DOING HAS INVOLVED THE CLAIMS OF VICTIMS. THAT SAID, IT IS ALSO TOO TRUE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS BEEN SLOW. WE NEED TO WORK ON GETTING AID DELIVERED, ON MAKING OUR PROMISES A REALITY. THANKFULLY, THE PASSAGE OF TIME, IF NOTHING ELSE, SEEMS TO HAVE RESULTED IN SOME OF THE TAPS OPENING, OR SO IT SEEMS.

9. JUSTICE TOO HAS BEEN SLOW. THE CONSTRUCTION OF A DOMESTIC SYSTEM OF JUSTICE IN RWANDAN IS GOING TO TAKE

TIME AND BE VERY DIFFICULT. THAT IS NOT TO SAY WE SHOULDN'T DO ALL WE CAN TO HELP THEM GET STARTED. WE CAN HAVE SOME IMPACT TOO BY SPEEDING UP THE INTERNATIONAL

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COURT INTO ACTION. WITH LUCK WE MAY SEE INDICTMENTS THIS YEAR. A DATE WE WILL TRY TO BRING FORWARD. (THE MORE I LEARN OF IT, THE GREATER ARE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE NUREMBERG AND RWANDAN PROCESSES. AFTER WWII WE HELD THE PRISONERS THAT WE WERE GOING TO INDICT; THERE WAS AN EXTENSIVE RECORD OF NAZI DOCUMENTS ON WHICH TO BASE THE TRIAL; MONEY, FACILITIES AND PERSONNEL WERE NO PROBLEM, ETC. THEN TOO, AT LEAST IN THE MINDS OF THE PEOPLE WHO WERE MAKING THE DECISIONS, THE NUREMBERG PROCESS WAS DESIGNED AS AN ALTERNATE TO PUTTING ALL THE GERMANS INVOLVED IN THE CRIMES ON TRIAL, A PROCESS THAT WAS DEEMED FROM THE OUTSET TO BE IMPOSSIBLE. WE CAN AND MUST MAKE THE COURT WORK BUT IT WILL NOT BE AS FAST AS MANY IN RWANDA UNDERSTANDABLY WANT.

### RESPONSIBILITIES

10. WE HAVE NOT BEEN AS EFFECTIVE IN GETTING THE

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GOVERNMENT TO ACCEPT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. WHEN I SAY "WE" I MEAN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. WHILE WE HAVE THE ASSET OF BEING THE "UNITED STATES", A VERY CONSIDERABLE ONE TO BE SURE, IN PRACTICAL TERMS -- MONEY -- OUR DOLLARS 6 MILLION AID PROGRAM (SANS FOOD AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE) IS RELATIVELY SMALL. OUR STICK IS RATHER SMALL, UNLESS WIELDED WITH OTHERS. THUS, THE ROSG.

11. AS WE AND OTHERS TRY TO DIRECT THE LOCOMOTIVE OF EVENTS IN RWANDA, PERHAPS WE CAN DO BETTER IN TREATING THE GOVERNMENT ON ITS TERMS. AND I DO NOT MEAN JUST DEMANDING THINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT. ONE SMALL STEP I WOULD LIKE TO  
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SEE US TAKE IS LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO: I SEE NO LOGICAL REASON FOR THE GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI TO BE LABORING UNDER THIS IMPEDIMENT. OUR EFFORT TO GET A PARTIAL LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO WAS A STEP IN ENDING THIS SITUATION. THE GOR, PERHAPS BECAUSE IT DOES KNOW BETTER PERHAPS BECAUSE IT IS CONSTITUTIONALLY DISPOSED TO HUBRIS, HAS REJECTED THE HALF STEP WE PROPOSED. I WOULD LIKE TO SEE US GO BACK TO THEM AND SAY, "OK. WE TRIED TO MOVE THE BALL IN YOUR DIRECTION. YOU HAVE REJECTED OUR ADVICE AND COUNSEL. IF YOU CAN GET OTHERS TO SUPPORT A FULL LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO NOW, WE WILL BE HAPPY TO VOTE FOR A TOTAL LIFTING (THIS LAST BIT IS THE PART THAT NEEDS THE CHOP OF OTHERS BACK HERE). WE WILL PROBABLY ALSO BE ABLE TO TELL THE GOVERNMENT ABOUT THAT WE HAVE THE IMET WAIVER THIS WEEK

(SOMETHING FOR NEXT WEEK'S TALKS IN KIGALI.)

12. AND THE LOCATION OF THE CAMPS AND THE ACTIVITIES THAT ARE BEING CONDUCTED IN THEM AND INTO RWANDA ARE A LEGITIMATE CONCERN OF THE GOR. I THOUGHT YOUR LINE TO THE PM THAT RWANDA SHARES RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE CAMPS WAS RIGHT ON. WE NEED TO CONTINUE TO PRESS THE GOR TO DO ITS PART TO MAKE RETURN A DESIRABLE ALTERNATIVE. HOWEVER, AS I KNOW YOU BELIEVE, THE CAMPS SHOULD BE MOVED AND THE MILITARY SEPARATED FROM THE REFUGEES. HOW? THERE IS THE RUB. BUT I WOULD LIKE US AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO BE DOING MORE THAN WRINGING OUR HANDS ABOUT THIS

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ISSUE. (MRS. OGATA SAYS SHE WANTED THE CAMPS ON THE  
BORDER CLOSED BY THE END OF THE YEAR, AT LEAST THOSE IN  
GOMA. SHE LINKED THIS WITH RETURN OF MANY OF THE  
REFUGEES. I THINK WE SHOULD NOW DELINK THESE TWO ANOTHER  
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MATTER THAT HAS TO BE DISCUSSED BACK HERE.)

13. BUT POWER BRINGS RESPONSIBILITIES. ONE IS FOR THE  
GOVERNMENT TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS, AN AREA IN WHICH THEY  
ARE NOT DOING VERY WELL. THE CLOSURE OF THE BORDER IS  
ANOTHER AREA IN WHICH GOVERNMENT BEHAVIOR DOES NOT FIT  
NORMS (AND IS COSTING US MONEY WHEN MONEY IS IN SHORT  
SUPPLY). SIMILARLY, ON THE BANK ISSUES, I CAN UNDERSTAND  
THAT THE BANK REPS MAY HAVE BEEN MORE TACTFUL. HOWEVER, I  
THINK WE SHOULD NIP ANY THOUGHT THAT THE GOVERNMENT MAY  
HAVE THAT IT CAN NOW CLAIM EXCEPTIONAL TREATMENT FROM THE  
BANK. FOR ONE THING, I DOUBT THAT SUCH EXCEPTIONALISM  
WILL BE FORTHCOMING. MY RECOMMENDATION WOULD BE THAT WE  
GENERALLY AND VIGOROUSLY SUPPORT THE BANK BY MAKING IT  
CLEAR TO THE GOR THAT RULES ARE RULES. (THE GOR'S DEMAND  
THAT THE OLD TUTSI CASE LOAD BE GIVEN PRIORITY SEEMS TO ME  
A DEMAND FOR INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT TO ASSURE TUTSI  
SUPREMACY.)

14. THERE ARE OBVIOUS TRADEOFFS AND LINKAGES WHICH WE  
WILL WANT TO WEAVE BETWEEN THE "RIGHTS OF VICTIM" AND  
"RESPONSIBILITIES OF POWER" (EG: BORDER SECURITY AND  
OPENING THE BORDER TO FOOD).

15. IF I HAD MORE TIME I WOULD HAVE MADE THIS SHORTER,  
MORE COHERENT. I WOULD HAVE HIT SOME MORE BASES LIKE THE  
NEED TO MAKE OUR POLICIES IN BURUNDI AND RWANDA  
CONGRUENT. AND IT IS PROBABLY WORTH MULLING IF A TRUE  
SEPARATION OF THE TWO PEOPLES 1) A SOLUTION AND 2)  
POSSIBLE. I SUSPECT THAT WITHOUT STRONG SUPPORTIVE  
POLITICAL LEADERSHIP WITHIN RWANDA THIS SUBJECT IS MOOT

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UNLESS AND UNTIL IT IS IMPOSED BY SOME TERRIBLE CATAclysm  
IN RWANDA AND/OR BURUNDI. BUT I WANTED YOU TO HAVE THIS  
SO YOU KNOW AT LEAST WHAT MY RAMBLING THOUGHTS ARE, WHICH  
I HASTEN TO ADD ARE NOT THE SAME AS WHAT WASHINGTON IS  
THINKING.  
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